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Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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How Can We Meet the Challenge of Russia's Expansion in Europe?

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Speakers

ALLEN W. DULLES

ROBERT ST. JOHN

ELLIS ARNALL

JAMES F. DOBIE

(See also page 13)

COMING

—April 13, 1948—

How Can We Preserve Peace and Freedom Today?

Published by THE TOWN HALL, Inc., New York 18, N.Y.

VOLUME 13, NUMBER 50



\$4.50 A YEAR: 10c A COPY

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The Broadcast of April 6, 1948, originated in the City Auditorium, Beaumont, Texas, from 8:30 to 9:30 p.m., EST, over the American Broadcasting Co. Network.



Town Meeting is published by The Town Hall, Inc., Town Meeting Publication Office: 400 S. Front St., Columbus 15, Ohio. Send Subscriptions and single copy orders to Town Hall, 123 West 43rd St., New York 18, N. Y. Subscription price, \$4.50 a year, 10c a copy. Entered as second-class matter, May 9, 1942, at the Post Office at Columbus, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



APRIL 6, 1948

VOL. 13, No. 50

How Can We Meet the Challenge of Russia's Expansion in Europe?

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. We are happy indeed to be back in the State of Texas, particularly in the City of Beaumont, here on the Gulf Coast where spring is really in bloom and a fine audience of more than 4,000 people have turned out to discuss tonight's important question.

Again our country appears to be standing on the brink of war. Nobody but madmen can possibly want war. Yet the men who have made the decision of governments since the end of the last war, especially the governments of the Big Three have created anything but an atmosphere of peace and security in the world.

The United Nations which was our symbol of peace and security soon became a forum in which rival nationalisms could hurl charges at each other but could take no important action to prevent the evolution of the present tragic state of affairs. The facts

themselves stand out clearly now above all the propaganda so that free men everywhere can see for themselves just what is taking place in the world.

Totalitarianism is on the march again. This time under the leadership of the men of the Kremlin.

Europe, struggling from the effects of the last two wars, is turning to socialism and is threatened by communism, while the United States, the last great stronghold of both political and economic freedom, although by no means perfect, is in the throes of another momentous decision. What can and should it do to meet the challenge of Russia's expansion in Europe?

Two and a half years ago we embraced Russia as an ally and help to set her up as one of the three great world powers. Her acts at the Council table and on the map of Europe and Asia have brought us to the verge of a shoot-

ing war with weapons that stagger the imagination of mankind.

In tonight's discussion, we must assume that all four speakers want to avoid war and nothing will be gained by calling either side warmongers or appeasers. Let's have done with name calling.

It's quite possible to avoid war by a show of strength as by a willingness to grant concessions. So we ask the counsel of Mr. Dulles, Governor Arnall, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Dobie to help us decide what we, as a Nation, should do at this time to check the Russian advances in Europe.

Next week we'll consider the question, how can we preserve peace and freedom in the world today? The two programs should be considered together for it's certain that we cannot hope to preserve peace and freedom in the world unless we find a way of checking the most aggressive force now loose in the world which is destroying freedom wherever it rules.

We hear first from Mr. Allen Dulles, legal consultant to the Herter Committee on Foreign Aid, President of the Council on Foreign Relations, author and expert on international affairs, who speaks to us from New York. Mr. Dulles.
(Applause.)

Mr. Dulles:

Mr. Denny, fellow speakers, ladies and gentlemen. I'm sorry

not to be personally with you in Beaumont.

The march of communism can be stopped in Europe. It can be stopped without war, but it can't be stopped by the appeasement which Henry Wallace preaches or by the saber rattling of the militarists.

The communism of the Soviet is both nationalistic and a world revolutionary force. Using the false labels of a peoples' democracy and the social doctrines of a thwarted German, Karl Marx, it appeals subtly to the yearnings of men and women for unity and equality. But when it takes over control of people's lives, it gives them slavery. Here is where Mr. Dobie and I will disagree.

The people of Russia are just as helpless as the people of the satellite states. They are the victims of the tactics of terror that were common both to the nazi and communist movements, but the Moscow brand has proved far more subtle than Hitler's national socialism as it has moved forward in countries ravaged by war, amid distress and suffering. It is the product of a sick and hungry world.

Today we stand where we were ten years ago. The end of liberty in Czechoslovakia confronts the free world with the same issues which Europe faced after Munich. We now have the verbatim report of Hitler's secret conferences with

his generals just before he plunged Europe into war in 1939.

He scornfully described the then leaders of England and France. "They are not men of action," he shouted to his generals, and then he added, and I quote verbatim, "They are little worms. I saw them at Munich."

Shall we play the same role today? What is your answer to that, Mr. St. John?

Ten years ago, appeasement and inaction brought war. Appeasement and inaction today will have the same result. There is no sense whatever to further appeasement. We now have the chance to seize the initiative; to take action to stop the march of the Soviet in Europe without war.

1. A free democracy has shown that it can get things done by overwhelmingly adopting the Marshall Plan. Now we must put it to work speedily and effectively. The Soviet, by their vigorous opposition, show how they fear it. They cannot stand the contrast between a free Western Europe, working its way back to economic security, and the low living standards of the Communist-dominated states.

2. We must give practical support to the growing movement for unity among the countries of Western Europe. This unity is essential to meet the threat to the existence of all of them if each country stands alone. Stalin, like Hitler, absorbs his victims one by one

because alone they are weak. If Western Europe makes a defensive military alliance, I favor our agreement to back it up with force of arms if necessary.

3. We must set an example to those men and women of Western Europe who risk their lives in opposing the march of the Soviet. Encouragement from the safe distance of 3,000 miles, even economic help, is not enough. Yesterday the Communists were trying to drive us from Berlin. Tomorrow they may be doing the same thing in Vienna. They hope to show the peoples of Europe that we are not ready to face the common danger. These tests must be met.

4. When we take a stand, the world must know that we have the force to maintain it. This means that we must keep up our military strength. To be precise, it means that we should immediately re-enact Selective Service. This will be the best evidence to the world that we mean what we say.

5. Temporary setbacks must not weaken our support of the United Nations. When this becomes truly an association of free nations, it can be an effective instrument of peace. We must build it up for that day.

6. Finally, and Governor Arnall and I feel that this is the heart of the issue, America must now take the spiritual as well as the economic initiative. We cannot buy

peace. We can only secure it by convincing the peoples who today are threatened by the Soviet that the future they desire lies with our system of life, not with that of Moscow.

With its secret police, its censorship, its denial to labor of the freedom to bargain, its stifling of the arts and sciences, and its restrictions on human liberties, the Soviet today is the most reactionary state in the world. But it is not enough to show this. We must make the defense of our freedoms a living, surging force. Then the peoples who are still free will gain the courage to stand their ground and those who have lost their freedom will seek ways to regain it.

Once the Soviet comprehends that they are facing a dynamic spiritual force, not merely military power, they will realize that they cannot gain their objectives of world domination by force or by trickery. In this way, we can stop the Soviet march in Europe and elsewhere, and we can stop it without war. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Allen Dulles. We miss you down here in Beaumont, Texas, but we'll be hearing from you again during the discussion period and the question period. Now let's hear from another world traveler, former foreign correspondent and radio commentator, author and lecturer,

the man with the famous beard, Mr. Robert St. John. (*Applause.*)

Mr. St. John:

I agree with Mr. Dulles tonight that, beneath the easy flow of cliches on both sides, the conflict we are talking about is really not between Russians and Americans at all, but between two ways of life known as communism and capitalist democracy. Washington has already given its answer to our question tonight, the same answer Mr. Dulles has given—the policy of getting tough; universal military training; the draft; the use of billions of dollars of relief money as a now-undisguised bribe; more military aid to Greece, Turkey, Chiang Kai-Shek, to anyone, even professed Fascists, if they will join what Adolf Hitler used to call "The Anti-Comintern Pact," and what we call the "Stop Communism Movement."

But I don't think Mr. Dulles program — the Washington program—can possibly work. We've been following this policy for more than a year. Has it stopped in any way Russian expansion? Will Mr. Dulles or Mr. Arnal argue that it has lessened the imminence of war.

The get-tough policy was adopted with the idea that if we got tough Russia would back down. But she hasn't. Russia has gotten tough, too, and so we get tougher and then maybe Russia will get tougher yet, and then some night

the atom bombs and the Soviet versions of V-1's and V-2's will start dropping and there we have it, the very thing we set out to avoid, the possible destruction of civilization.

In traveling around 45 states the past few months, I found few people who approve of our playing with characters like Franco, Peron, Chiang Kai-Shek, or the hundreds of Nazi collaborators who occupy high seats in the present Greek government.

We, the people, know with embarrassment how we look to the rest of the world when we ship thousands of tons of guns to Turks who helped the Nazis by breaking an alliance with the Greeks and sitting out the war.

We, the people, don't like to see the munitions makers of Germany getting back their factories and being restored to their former high places so soon after a quarter of a million young Americans gave their lives to smash what those same friends of Adolf Hitler helped build up once before.

On a recent return visit to Greece, I was told by a citizen of that country, not a Communist, "It's communism you're fighting, isn't it? Well, communism is an idea. You say it's a bad idea, the Russians say it's a good idea, but good or bad, an idea cannot be stopped with a sword. What if you kill every Russian in the world? Would that solve the prob-

lem? No, because then you would have to kill all the Greek Communists, the Chinese Communists, the French and Italian Communists, too. And would that solve the problem? No, because the idea would still remain. You can't stop an idea with a sword, nor with atom bombs either." That's what one little Greek told me.

The way to fight an idea is with a better idea. All of us on this platform will agree that we have that better idea. We're wealthy enough, bright enough, idealistic enough so that if we try to export that idea instead of guns; if we try to make that idea applicable to the conditions of the day in places like Greece, China, India, we can win votes to our side and not compromise our ideals and principles. But there must be a "working for peace" instead of a "planning for war."

As Supreme Court Justice Douglas said, "This country will fail miserably if it fashions its policies merely in terms of anti-Communism." If we want hundreds of millions of the people of the world in the democratic ranks, we must show them the way with practical programs of social reconstruction. The real victory will be won in the rice fields and not on the battlefields.

Or, as Secretary-General Lee of the United Nations wrote, "To preserve peace, we must work desperately to improve the standards

of human life through international collaboration. We must rack our brains and tax our ingenuity to devise means of helping those tens of millions of our fellow human beings who today live lives of impoverishment and desperation."

To boil it down into one sentence, our answer to communism should be to help get a subsistence living for the poverty stricken Chinese, land for landless Italians, decent health for the peoples of India, freedom for Greeks, and *not* guns for Turks.

Instead of the program Mr. Dulles has suggested, I propose:

1. Steps should be taken at once to arrange a meeting between Truman, Stalin, and Attlee to be attended also by the presidential nominee of each party.

2. At such a meeting, an attempt should be made to reach a compromise agreement on world problems. This is not what Mr. Dulles calls appeasement, horse-swapping, compromise, concessions by both sides—that's the democratic way of avoiding bloodshed.

3. On our side, we should express a willingness to break diplomatic relations with all fascist countries; to abandon a doctrine under which we export guns instead of bread; to revive and implement our own Palestine partition plan; to begin immediate consideration in UN of the tabled Soviet resolution for total world disarmament.

4. We should demand of Russia a long list of concessions, principally that she halt her expansionist program, that she agree to work with us to create immediately a real international police force, that we both agree to stop taking unilateral action, and that we both try again to work out a compromise plan for the control of atomic energy.

5. With the nervousness and suspicions at least in the background, we could begin the all-important task of amending the UN into a real world state which would end for all time insane suicidal conflicts between sovereign nations, for it is sovereign nations and never *people* who go to war.
(Applause.)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. St. John. Now, let's hear from that vigorous, liberal, democratic governor from Georgia who was its chief executive in 1943-1947; also, like Mr. Dulles, a lawyer and author whose forthcoming book, *What the People Want*, is to be published in June. I give you Governor Ellis Arnall. *(Applause.)*

Mr. Arnall:

George Denny and friends, the first imperative is that Europe be offered a chance to choose democracy instead of totalitarianism whether communism or fascism. When the people of Europe know that democracy is the best way o-

life and the best way of government, they will choose it.

Our job is to give them the unrestricted opportunity to choose it—to give them the chance to make it work. In that sense, ERP can become effective. It can back up democratic regimes in Western Europe; it can thwart hunger, which is the strongest and most formidable ally that communism or any other form of totalitarianism can possibly have.

But ERP must be a positive force, it must work for democracy—not merely against communism. It must guarantee democratic elements in all Western Europe support for democracy against any and all forms of totalitarian encroachment.

We must recognize that ERP needs implementation by an adequate military establishment. We require for our defense an adequate air power, capable of striking hard and striking quickly.

We need adequate reserve forces for our ground troops because the final decision in any conflict rests in the ability to occupy territory.

We need a strong Navy and a Marine Corps.

We should encourage alliances and agreements between Western European democracies, but I do not think that such agreements should be extended to non-democratic powers. We must not be permitted to swallow the propaganda that there is no choice except between fascism and com-

munism. We must know that democracy is an alternative to either and to both.

Surely Mr. St. John cannot believe that the U.S.A. rather than the U.S.S.R. is responsible for the European crisis today. The fundamental American foreign policy is not one of aggression or imperialism. It is not a faultless policy, to be sure—it stumbled in Greece; it fell flat on its face in Palestine. While it is not dominated by Wall Street or the military, as the Russian propagandists charge, quite frankly, there are too many senile brass hats and too many Wall Streeters in Washington shaping policy, but these are not dominant.

The official Soviet propaganda that Russian expansion is directed at avoiding encirclement is pure Russian propaganda and unadulterated bunk. The United States is not trying to encircle anyone, but we have neglected some important things in combatting communism. In some nations, we have allowed ourselves to be placed in support of regimes that are corrupt and reactionary.

We have more than once failed to stand firmly for democracy even at home. Our domestic policies must be based on the same principles as our foreign policies. We need faith in popular government and in public justice in America if we are to promote it throughout the world. If Russia employs force in her expansion, the United States must use force to resist it.

The Russians cannot win elections if the United States fails to permit itself to become the defender of reaction instead of a supporter of democracy.

Communists should be refused positions in democratic governments which they seek to destroy. If, through the United Nations Organization, we can find a way to attain a stabilized peace, we will not need atomic bombs, but until then we have no choice but to get prepared and to stay prepared with atomic bombs and planes, with reactivated Selective Service, and with some form of universal service that does not lead to military domination of our public life.

In the final analysis, and over the long pull, it will not be military preparedness or spending through ERP that will check communism. Only an active faith in democracy at home and abroad will make any specific policy effective.

A foreign policy based on freedom for men everywhere is the absolute essential because nowhere in all the world can some men be free until everywhere all men are free, and only free men can be at peace.

But Mr. Dulles and I insist that immediately our Nation must steadfastly maintain a tough policy with Russia. We must put communism on notice that democracy and freedom will never default to the infamous totalitarian doctrine

that it espouses — a doctrine of human slavery throughout the world. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Governor Arnall. Now we're going to hear from a real Texan, a man who was born on a ranch in Live Oak County, Texas, who spent most of his life as a Professor of English at the University of Texas, and has traveled widely throughout this country and the world. He has written extensively and is now something of a controversial character in his home state. But he's a much beloved figure, and it is now my privilege to present Mr. James Frank Dobie of Austin, Texas. Mr. Dobie. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Dobie:

If we utilize the faith in democracy that Governor Arnall speaks of, we're going to have to change some of our tactics. If we are to meet successfully the challenge of Russia, we must admit in the first place that the most democratic and liberal political parties in virtually all the European countries are the Socialist parties.

As a great democratic power trying to advance democracy, we have simply got to ally ourselves with these progressive, democratic socialist elements. Yet we hold up in Greece a weak autocracy as tyrannical as the Russian-bolstered government of Yugoslavia, and no nearly so intelligent.

We pour our millions into

Greece to hold back communism. What we are holding back in Greece is democracy. We've given Chiang Kai-Shek's government in China towards five billion dollars' worth of aid. His government symbolizes landlord greed and oppression. It is as totalitarian as Hitler ever was. It stands against economic and political liberty for the Chinese masses.

American military power could, no doubt, destroy the communist government of northern China. It cannot hold back a democratic idea now common in 500 million Chinese people.

Between the lend-lease program of World War II and the Marshall Plan stands the loan to Great Britain. There was strong opposition to this loan because the British people had voted a socialist government into power. The attitude of the opposers is represented by their resentment of the great success of the Tennessee Valley Authority in America.

Mr. Stassen, a candidate for the Presidency, proposes that none of the Marshall Plan money be granted to countries that are extending socialism. What logic is there in this fear of progressive democratic socialism in Europe? We are afraid of a planned economy at home, and we force 16 European countries to plan their economy before we will grant them a dime!

I am not arguing for socialism in America. I am facing the fact

that hundreds of millions of people in Europe and Asia are in a tidal advance against feudalistic warlords, feudalistic landlords, and other lords.

Russia is not making this movement so much as she is taking advantage of it. Wherever Russia goes she suppresses political and personal freedom, but she also reforms land tenure and gives the workers on the land their share of it.

The American military government is now turning back the I. G. Farben industry of Germany to the Nazis. In his book, *Speaking Frankly*, ex-Secretary of State Byrnes says the control of German industry should be turned back to the owners.

The bulk of these heavy industries lies in the British Zone of Occupied Germany. The British were making progress towards nationalizing them. The German workmen want them nationalized. The French people want them nationalized. The only liberal party in Germany, the Socialists, wants them nationalized, but American industry speaking through the American Military Government says, "No."

In Italy, we are on the side of the reviving Fascists, the Vatican, and the feudal landlords to prevent agrarian reforms long overdue in the southern part of that country. Does that make sense? We are against industrial reforms in Italy.

The military element is in the saddle, in directing the foreign policy of the United States, as it has never been before in our history. It seems to be more at ease with Franco of Spain and Peron of Argentina than it feels with the peoples' yearning for liberty in Greece, Italy and other countries.

The extremists of capitalistic enterprise are wedded to the military. They are adamant against any change affecting profits or property. They are unyielding to evolution. They are as fanatical over what is called free enterprise in America as the Russians are over communism in Russia. Communism is not the only tyranny.

The preamble to UNESCO—the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization—begins with these noble words, "Since wars start in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defenses of peace must be constructed." While Congress has been appropriating billions for more armed might, it has cut down and cut down our appropriations for international organizations.

For the fiscal year of 1949, the State Department asked for 21 million dollars. The House granted it four million dollars. The United States commission to UNESCO is now pleading for a restoration of \$40,000 for its staff. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Dobie. Well, there you have two points of view

and now we are going to have a little discussion around the microphone. Gentlemen, if you will step up here with me, we will start with Mr. Dulles in New York just to show the audience that he is really right here with us. How about it, Mr. Dulles?

Mr. Dulles: I have been listening to all of this. I have quite a lot to say. First I want to speak of this: Mr. St. John proposes that we send to Moscow to deal with that pretty tough gang of fellows we have there, a team of three—that is, the President; Mr. Wallace, I believe; and whoever the Republican nominee may be. Well, now, when you get into a tough football game, I don't believe it is a good thing to have three quarterbacks. What do you think about that Mr. St. John?

Mr. St. John: Mr. Dulles in New York, my reason for suggesting that the presidential candidates also go—and it would not necessarily be three, Mr. Dulles—is because one of the criticisms of Stalin and Attlee might be, "Well, Mr. Truman, you say so-and-so, but after all you may not be President in two months." So if the other two, or three, or four, were there, they could concur in the agreement.

Mr. Dulles: Do you think they would concur?

Mr. St. John: Well, I'll tell you a little secret, Mr. Dulles. In the original script of my little talk tonight, I suggested that all the

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

ELLIS GIBBS ARNALL — Governor of Georgia from 1943 to 1947, Mr. Arnall has become one of the most dramatic, most progressive, and most successful political leaders in the history of his state. In Georgia, no Governor can serve successively for more than four years, or he might have been reelected.

Member of a family which made its wealth in the cotton textile industry, Mr. Arnall was born in Newnan, Georgia, in 1907. His college career started at Mercer University in Macon, continued at University of the South at Sewanee, where he received his B. A. degree, and at the University of Georgia where he received his degree in Law.

Back home in Newnan, Ellis Arnall hung out his law shingle, but he soon got interested in politics and was elected to the state legislature. From 1933 to 1937, he was speaker pro tem of the House of Representatives. In 1937, he was appointed assistant attorney general, and in 1939 became attorney general. In 1943, he became Governor at the age of 35, the youngest governor in the country at that time.

Mr. Arnall's book, *The Shore Dimly Seen*, a study of conditions in the South, has become a best-seller. His book *What the People Want* is scheduled for June publication.

ROBERT ST. JOHN—Mr. St. John was born in Chicago in 1902. At the age of 15, he joined the United States Navy. He soon returned to school, however, and was graduated from St. Albans School, Sycamore, Illinois, in 1920. The next two years he was a student at Trinity College, in Hartford, Connecticut.

He worked for short intervals as a reporter for the *Hartford Courant*, *Oak Leaves* (Oak Park, Illinois), the *Chicago American* and the *Chicago Daily News*. From 1923 to 1926, with his brother, he owned and edited the *Cicero Tribune*, the *Berwyn Tribune*, and the *Riverside Times*, all in Illinois.

Mr. St. John went on to be managing editor of the *Rutland (Vt.) News* and city editor of the *Rutland Herald*. For a while he was on the staff of the *Camden (N.J.) Courier*; then cable editor of the *Philadelphia Record*. From 1931 to 1933 he was city editor for Associated Press in New York City.

In Barnstead, New Hampshire, Mr. St. John engaged in farming and freelance writing from 1933 until 1939. In 1939, he returned to the newspaper field as Balkan correspondent for Associated Press. In 1942, he became a news commentator for N.B.C. in London, in Washington in 1943, and in New York in 1944.

Mr. St. John is the author of *From the Land of Silent People, It's Always Tomorrow*, and the recently published *The Silent People Speak*.

ALLEN WELSH DULLES—Born in Waterbury, New York, in 1893, Mr. Dulles has his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Princeton University and his LL.B. from George Washington University. After teaching English for one year in India, he entered the U.S. Diplomatic Service. He was appointed Legation Secretary and assigned to Vienna, Austria, and in 1917 was transferred to Berne, Switzerland. After serving with the American Commission to Negotiate Peace in Paris in 1918, he was transferred to Berlin, Germany.

With the Department of State, he has served in Constantinople, Turkey, and in Washington, D.C. He has been a member of various commissions and delegation in a diplomatic capacity. In 1926, he resigned from the Diplomatic Service to take up the practice of law in New York. He is director and president of the Council of Foreign Relations. He is also a member of the executive committee of the Committee for the Marshall Plan and legal consultant to the Herter Committee. He is author of the recent book, *Germany's Underground*.

JAMES F. DOBIE — An author and former University professor, Mr. Dobie was born on a ranch in Live Oak County, Texas in 1888. He is a graduate of Southwestern University, Georgetown, Texas, and Columbia University. He also has an honorary degree from Cambridge University, England.

Mr. Dobie has been a school principal, and instructor of English at Southwestern University and the University of Texas. For a time, he was head of the English department at Oklahoma A. and M. College. He has also managed a ranch. Between 1933, and October, 1947, he was a professor of English at the University of Texas. During leaves of absence, he engaged in research with the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation and the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. He was a visiting professor in American history at Cambridge University in 1943-44.

During World War I, Mr. Dobie was a lieutenant in the U.S. Army. In World War II, he was in the I. and E. Division of the U.S. Army, lecturing at Shriverham American University in England and to troops in Germany. He served as a member of UNESCO from 1945 to 1948.

Mr. Dobie is best known for his many books on Texas and range life.

prospective candidates for the Presidency go. I eliminated that because I don't think all of them could agree. But I do think that perhaps the candidates for each party could agree.

Mr. Dulles: Don't you think we tried this in Yalta, and don't you think we tried it in Teheran, and don't you think we tried it in Potsdam, and don't you think we tried it when we sent Secretary Marshall to Moscow and to London? How long are we going to try this?

Mr. St. John: I suggest we try it right up until the night the atom bombs start falling.

Mr. Dulles: Who is going to throw it?

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now let's get some questions from this end. Governor Arnall has a question.

Mr. Arnall: Yes, I have a question for Mr. St. John and I should like to include Mr. Dobie in the question. Do you believe we can actually ever have peace with Communism? If we make agreements with the communist leaders, would they live up to them? What I am wondering is this: Where there is no moral integrity, is there any basis for cooperation?

Mr. St. John: Mr. Arnall, if I didn't believe there were a possibility, even though it may be remote, a possibility of reaching an agreement of some kind which both sides would live up to, I would not be in this fair city of

Beaumont, Texas, tonight. I would be on my way for a deep, deep cave somewhere. Our only chance is that there is enough integrity between both of us to live up to these agreements. I can't guarantee it. I'm not sure, but I think it's a chance worth trying, because I want to live a few more years, and I think most of the peoples of the world do, and I think there is a chance. I can't guarantee it. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Mr. Dobie, you were included on that question.

Mr. Dobie: Well, I think that there are two things which will stop wars in the world. One is the last war—the war of the atomic bomb. That will stop civilization, also. The other is the exercise of intelligence. I don't think we can win with a war—the next world war. Even though we win it, we lose what we are fighting for while we are winning it.

Mr. Denny: But, Mr. Dobie, as moderator, I want to insist that you answer that question the way he put it. Can you do business with communists? Can you count on their integrity to keep their promises? What's your opinion on that, sir?

Mr. Dobie: I simply don't know! If they have to stay on one side of a line, I think that they'll keep their promises to stay on that side of the line. I admit we have to have some force to keep them on that side of the line.

But not alone—not force alone.

Mr. Dulles: Could I ask a question there?

Mr. Denny: Yes sir, Mr. Dulles.

Mr. Dulles: I would just like to ask when they promise to have free elections, will they let us have free elections?

Mr. Denny: Anybody want to comment on that? Mr. St. John or Mr. --

Mr. Arnall: Would it be proper for me to?

Mr. Denny: All right, Governor Arnall. I didn't think that was asked of you but go ahead, Governor.

Mr. Arnall: Well, I want to say quite frankly to Mr. St. John and Mr. Dulles and these friends that if there are free elections in any country and that country wants to go communist, freely of its own volition, I think it should have that right.

Mr. St. John: I agree.

Mr. Arnall: But I am one who believes that if our Nation follows through in a consistent foreign policy and if we use ERP with a strong military force to implement it, and we make clear the meaning of democracy, I say that no nation of its own voluntary choice will choose slavery instead of democracy. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now, while we get ready for our question period, I'm sure you, our listeners, will be interested in the following message.

Announcer: You are listening

to America's Town Meeting of the Air, originating in Beaumont, Texas, where we are discussing the question, "How Can We Meet the Challenge of Russia's Expansion in Europe?" We are about to take questions from our representative audience.

If you would like a copy of tonight's broadcast, complete with questions and answers to follow, send for the Town Meeting Bulletin, enclosing ten cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing. If you would like to subscribe to the Bulletin for six months, send \$2.35; for a year, send \$4.50. Just address Town Hall, New York 18, New York, and allow at least two weeks for delivery.

Today, April 6, is Army Day, set aside by the Congress of the United States to call public attention to the world-wide assignments of the regular Army, to emphasize the importance of ground defense establishment, the National Guard, the Organized Reserve Corps, the Reserve Officers Training Corps, and to explain the need for manpower, and to honor American soldiers, past and present, who contributed so much to the peace of the world.

Last week your Town Meeting discussed the question of Universal Military Training. Tonight we are discussing another question in which our armed forces have a vital stake. Town Meeting, like every other free institution in

America, pays tribute to our soldiers, past and present, and acknowledges its great debt to those who have sacrificed so much

to make possible the great freedom that is ours today.

Now for our question period we return you to Mr. Denny.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now here are the attendants in the aisles with portable microphones. Members of the audience are holding up their number cards. We have an eager audience here of about 4500 people, and I'm going to start with a question from this stage that is packed with people. We're going to start with a question from Mr. Caldwell McFadden, the chairman of our Town Meeting Host Committee. Mr. McFadden, do you have a question, sir?

Mr. McFadden: Thank you. Mr. St. John, do you think if we had a meeting, such as you presume, prior to the absorption of Yugoslavia and Finland, that it would have stopped the Russian expansion in those countries?

Mr. St. John: Yes, I do think that had we held a meeting prior—I think you mean Czechoslovakia, sir, Czechoslovakia and Finland—I think had we held such a meeting, we could work out an agreement, because under my plan, one of the things we would insist from the Russians would be that they stop taking unilateral action and stop their expansionism in re-

turn for certain promises we would make.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now the gentleman—or is it a lady in the balcony there? With number one question. Oh, a beautiful red headed lady in the balcony. That's fine. Thank you.

Lady: This is directed to Mr. Dulles. Isn't it true that the Truman Doctrine was an act of aggression against Russia and thereby were the proximate cause of communistic expansion hysteria?

Mr. Dulles: No, I don't think so. Why was that an act of aggression against Russia? We didn't go anywhere near Russia. We came in at the invitation of a friendly country—to give them aid.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Is the young lady satisfied or does she want to talk back to Mr. Dulles? No, she doesn't want to talk back. All right. Now the lady down here on the other aisle in the brown suit.

Lady: Mr. Arnall. Are we helping democracy in Europe by shipping tools of war to Russia?

Mr. Denny: Are we helping democracy in Europe by shipping tools of war to Russia?

Mr. Arnall: No, indeed, we're not. I oppose it. I haven't forgotten what happened at Pearl Harbor. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The lady with the brown dress. Yes?

Lady: This is to Mr. St. Clair. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: Mr. St. John.

Lady: St. John. I beg your pardon. How can we educate the peoples of Europe to want and to accept the idea of democracy instead of the idea of communism?

Mr. St. John: How we can educate them to want democracy? Well, I believe democracy's a good thing, you see. I think we can offer those people everything that communism offers them, plus. We can offer them what they have offered them in Yugoslavia for example—hospitals, doctors, railroads—all those material things, plus the Four Freedoms. How can we educate them to want those things? They want them right now if we will export those things to them instead of, as we have been doing, merely guns to support the Fascists of Greece.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now the young man in the balcony.

Man: Mr. J. Frank Dobie, does the silence of countries overrun by Communists indicate that they are satisfied with communism? If that ideology suits them, then they should remain unmolested.

Mr. Dobie: I didn't get the first part of the sentence.

Man: Does the silence of those

countries in Europe that are overrun by Communism indicate that they are happy?

Mr. Dobie: No. No. (*Laughter.*)

Mr. Denny: Mr. Arnall wants to get in on this. All right.

Mr. Arnall: I hate to get up again and answer that question. I agree with Mr. Dobie, but it isn't quite pointed enough. Of course, they are silent; with a gun at their back and a bayonet at their throat, they have to be silent. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Here's a lady on the stage who has a question for Mr. Dulles.

Lady: Mr. Dulles. Do you feel adequate aid to the countries of Europe will stop Russian expansion in Europe?

Mr. Dulles: Not alone, but it will help. As I said in my main talk, we've got to get a spiritual force behind democracy. We can't do it only with money. We can't do it with grain. We can't do it with supplies. But I believe we can get democracy on the march, freedom on the march; then, I believe, we can stop communism.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The young man on the aisle over there.

Man: Governor Arnall, instead of using power politics to stop war, why not spend a little money to spread religious teachings which could lead to good will among men?

Mr. Arnall: I'm all for that. I think anything that improves the

lot of mankind—spiritual things, economic opportunities—I think they're good. But there's no need of fooling ourselves, we can't fight a war with toothpicks. While we're playing tiddley-winks debating, we see what's happening throughout Europe. First of all, we've got to get firm; then we've got to wage this ideological, this spiritual, this economic, this political campaign.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now the man in the balcony. Yes?

Man: My question is directed to Mr. St. John. What, in your estimation, sir, is responsible for the failure of the United Nations to bring peace to the world?

Mr. St. John: I am to sum up in two minutes why the United Nations has failed to solve the peace of the world? Because the United Nations is a body of sovereign nations, and sovereign nations always get into trouble, they always play politics, and they always end up by going to war. It is not peoples that want war. The Russian people don't want war. The Yugoslav people don't want war—and the Greeks.

I've just been over there in Europe, and I've talked to an awful lot of those people in various countries—peoples don't want war. Why should they, because in a war their arms get blown off, their heads get blown off, their houses get destroyed, and it will happen in Beaumont, Texas, and New York, and a lot of other places

the next time that it didn't happen here.

UN is a group of sovereign nations. Russia walks out. Britain vetoes something. Russia vetoes something. Sovereign nations combine in little groups. What we must have, in place of the United Nations, is a world government composed of the representatives of peoples, and not sovereign nations. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. St. John. Now Governor Arnall has a word to add to that.

Mr. Arnall: I want to get back to my original question to Mr. St. John. A world government—good in an eon or two. We need world government. We need it now, but we'll get it, perhaps in an eon or two. Not that I don't favor it, but it's slow. Here's the question. How can we have world government, how can we have co-operation, how can we have trade treaties, how can we have military agreements with communistic Russia that does not respect its obligations? (*Applause.*)

Mr. St. John: My answer to Governor Arnall is the same as my answer to Mr. Dulles. If I thought there was absolutely no possibility of coming to any agreements with the peoples on the other side of this argument then what on earth are we holding a Town Meeting for? Why, as some of the atomic scientists have said, aren't we on tonight digging, digging into the

ground to protect ourselves when the bombs start falling?

I think there's a chance. I'm not going to rule out the possibility of an agreement. If Mr. Arnall and Mr. Dulles don't think there is any possibility of an agreement, then for heaven's sake, why don't we start dropping the atom bombs and get it over?

Mr. Arnall: I have no disagreement with you when you say that the people of all the countries do not want war because it's human blood that's shed every time. I agree with that, but what chance do the people have in a dictatorship of deciding what public policies shall be?

How can you have peace with the people of Russia when the imperial supreme council, the Politburo, is charting a course that even the people don't want but they are fearful to oppose?

The other observation I would make, Mr. St. John, is that we can have world government among the democracies who believe in the same concepts. We can never have world government with those who believe in collective rather than individual dignity and individual security. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Dulles: May I break in here? I would like to add one word in answer to Mr. St. John. I agree that we must try to reach agreement with Russia. I would never give up hope. However, we have tried for three long years at

conferences all around the world to do it.

What we must do now is persuade the Russians that the tactics that they are following cannot succeed. Once we have done that, then we have some chance of sitting down and reaching an agreement. Today, I don't think we have the slightest chance in the world.

Mr. St. John: I have never met two more pessimistic men than my two opponents, Mr. Dulles and Mr. Arnall. From their points of view it seems to be merely a question of *when* the shooting begins. Mr. Dulles asks, he says we've been holding all these conferences and they don't amount to anything, so what's the use? I don't know if Mr. Dulles or Mr. Arnall can answer, I'm afraid there's only one person—Mr. Truman—who can answer, but there have been repeated reports in the last few weeks that Mr. Truman has received an invitation, an indirect invitation, to hold a conference on neutral territory with Mr. Stalin.

Now I still am going to repeat it a dozen times, if Mr. Denny will let me before the evening is over, I still think there is some sense in trying to compromise, in trying to horse trade, in trying to work this thing out diplomatically instead of getting ready to drop the bombs.

Mr. Arnall: I've got to get in on that statement, Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: All right, Governor, go ahead.

Mr. Arnall: I am not a pessimist. I do not believe there will be war with Russia and I know there won't be war with Russia if we get prepared, and stay prepared, and start working at democracy. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Dulles: I endorse that 100 per cent.

Mr. Denny: That brought Mr. Dobie up on his feet here now.

Mr. Dobie: Mr. Dulles say that we have tried three years to trade with the Russians by talk. I want to ask him how many centuries we've tried war and how successful it has been. We make one war in order to make another war, and war does not end with right dominating.

There are two things about the Russians you've got to remember. The Russians are doing the best they can for their own people in their way. They want their people to prosper. Why can't we trade with them and show them how their people will prosper by letting the democracies alone? It is self-interest we've got to show them.

Mr. Dulles: Does the prosperity of the Russian people require them to take over Czechoslovakia, to take over Finland, to take over Poland, to take over 170 million people that never were Russian.

Mr. Denny: Mr. Dobie, do you want to comment on that? Mr. Dulles is raising the question of

Russian aggression taking over Czechoslovakia, Finland, and Poland.

Mr. Dobie: Well, I can't deny that they're taking them over. I know they are. I'm not trying to deny it. But the Russians are as scared of us as we are of them. They are as distrustful of us as we are of them, and if you read the conservative Mr. Sumner Wells' *Time for Decision* you'll see there very well summarized an argument that appeals to them.

Mr. Denny: All right. Now the lady in the back of the house in the red hat.

Lady: Mr. St. John, what do you think our President could say to Stalin to get Russia to quit expanding? (*Applause.*)

Mr. St. John: I think I gave the answer to that question in my five minute talk. I named a number of concessions, a number of compromises, that I suggested that we offer to make at a meeting with Mr. Stalin—that we offer to stop exporting guns, that we offer to stop playing with Fascists, that we offer to break relations with men like Franco, that we offer to stop sending guns to Chiang Kai-Shek—and on the other hand, in this horse-swapping deal that Russia on her side, agree to stop doing certain things.

Let me point out that the use of the word appeasement has been made here tonight. That's an emotional word. It gets us all stirred up. Do you realize that when

Senator X goes into Congress in Washington and introduces a bill, he thinks it is 100 per cent right. He wants it passed just as he wrote it. Senator Y is 100 per cent against that bill and thinks it's the work of the devil. What happens? They compromise. They finally come out with a bill that neither of them likes but it avoids war. It avoids war.

Mr. Dulles: Did Munich avoid war?

Mr. Denny: Just a minute. What is it, Mr. Dulles?

Mr. Dulles: I want to ask whether Munich avoided war. That was a compromise and a pretty one. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Mr. Dulles throws in a question about Munich. Did Munich avoid war. It was a compromise and a pretty one.

Mr. St. John: No, sir, Munich was not a compromise; Munich was appeasement. Munich was definitely appeasement and I am not proposing anything of that sort.

Mr. Dulles: I can't tell the difference.

Mr. Denny: Here's a question for you, Mr. Dulles.

Man: Mr. Dulles, after the completion of the Marshall Plan, then what do we do?

Mr. Dulles: We carry it out. We have just completed it. Now is the time to get busy and make it a real, live force.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now

the lady in the red and black hat in the balcony.

Lady: Mr. Arnall, why are we letting Russia do exactly as Germany did in '35, '36, and '37 by her moving into small defenseless democratic nations?

Mr. Arnall: I don't know why we are doing it other than the fact that there is the feeling among many of our people that somehow we can sit idly by and do nothing and have peace. I think that we're making the same mistake that we made with Hitler and that was made at Munich. It seems to me that the intelligent thing to do is to recognize that while we can, as Mr. St. John says, compromise with some things, we can't compromise with human freedom, and we might as well let Russia know that we're on guard, prepared militarily and politically and economically to hold high the torch of democracy. Then there will be no war. Then we will stop Russia. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. A brief word from Mr. St. John.

Mr. St. John: I want to give Governor Arnall and this audience a very good example of what I mean by compromise. A national students' organization held a convention in Madison, Wisconsin, several months ago. The northern delegations came in to that convention with a resolution which they insisted be passed which called for nonsegregation in public schools and colleges. The southern

delegation said absolutely no. Now there was a matter of principle. You say you can't compromise on principle. That was a matter of absolute firm principle with each one of these two groups.

They argued about it for about a week and it looked as if the whole meeting would have to break up and the organization would have to disband. Finally, some men from the State of Texas sat up all one night and they worked out a compromise which saved the organization from breaking up. That is what I mean by compromise.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Governor Arnall.

Mr. Arnall: Well stated, Mr. St. John, but there can be no compromise where murder is concerned, where theft is concerned, where justice is concerned, where human dignity, and human freedom is concerned.

There was once, long, long years ago, some one who said "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet as to be purchased by chains and slavery?" I think not. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Now we will hear from our speakers with their summaries of tonight's question. First, let us hear from Mr. Dobie.

Mr. Dobie: In my opinion the American government is compromising with freedom in countries where it is operating. The only way we shall promote democracy and hold Russian expansion is to take the side of peoples and

governments striving for freedom and a fair deal against old reaction, whether those peoples are in China or in Greece, in France or in Spain. In strengthening them for themselves, we will strengthen ourselves.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Dobie, and a final word now from Governor Arnall of Georgia.

Mr. Arnall: To check communism, we need a strong military establishment. We must support democratic regimes in Europe. Mr. Dulles, Mr. St. John, Mr. Dobie and I are in accord that we must make democracy more dynamic, alluring, and attractive, and we must assist in the rehabilitation of Europe. The United States must take a firm stand and decide to wage a relentless ideological campaign against Russia's communism. We must, if necessary, use force against force. We must see to it that communism not be permitted to enslave Europe and the free peoples of the world. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Governor Arnall. Now a final word from Mr. Dulles in New York.

Mr. Dulles: I don't call my program a "get-tough policy" with Russia. I call it a policy to release the great power of free peoples to prevent further round tactics by Russia. On one issue we can all agree—war is no answer. In all history, war was never avoided by shirking responsibility or compromising principles. For this long years, our President and Sir

retaries of State have been journeying to Russia and over most of the face of the globe, trying to reach agreement with Moscow. The Soviet took these agreements as stepping stones for aggression.

Now the free nations cannot safely retreat any further. We must stand militarily prepared and wage a vigorous offensive with the weapons of peace — economic aid and the rallying of the moral and spiritual forces of free people.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Dulles. Now, a final word from Mr. St. John.

Mr. St. John: In the face of all this talk about might versus might; how if the Russians do this, we must do that; if they use force, we must use force, I would like

to leave with this audience the picture of a little man in a loin cloth and a little pair of spectacles, who died a few weeks ago, who brought the greatest nation in the history of the world to its knees with an idea—not a gun, not a bomb, not a tank.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Friends, next week from New Orleans, Louisiana, we will continue where we left off tonight discussing the question, "How Can We Preserve Peace and Freedom Today."

Our speakers will be Walter H. Judd, Congressman of Minnesota; Vincent Sheean, foreign correspondent; John Scott, chief of the Berlin Bureau of *Time* magazine; and the Honorable Panayotis Kanellopoulos, former Prime Minister of Greece. (*Applause.*)

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